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AUTHOR Benham, Maenette K. P.; Heck, Ronald H.
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ABSTRACT

A political-cultural model explores the educational process and its impact on Native Hawaiians over a 140-year period. The theoretical model suggests that core political values are transmitted to educational policy and school-related activities, and thereby impact the social, economic, and academic status of Native Hawaiians. Three historical case studies indicate similarities and provide descriptions that illuminate the process of educational policymaking during each politically turbulent period in Hawaii: (1) the American missionaries arrival and impact, 1820-1839; (2) Hawaii, no longer for the Native Hawaiian, 1887-1900; and (3) new political ideas in post-war Hawaii, 1940-1960. The case studies develop six themes: (1) politicization and quiescence as a political process; (2) status of the power players; (3) limited participation in politics and policymaking; (4) dominating values of efficiency and quality; (5) neglected values of equality and choice; and (6) beneficiaries and losers. As Hawaii moves closer to political revolution in educational governance, the results suggest that fundamental values of the political culture must appreciate the existing cultural diversity in Hawaii. Two tables provide further information on the distribution of school laws and policies from 1842 through 1969 and a matrix of the six emergent themes and three case histories. Two figures diagram the educational policy process model and a tracking of Hawaii's political institution. Contains 51 references. (CK)

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POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICYMAKING: THE CASE OF NATIVE HAWAIIANS

Maenette K.P. Benham
Michigan State University
425 Erickson Hall
E. Lansing, MI 48824

Ronald H. Heck
University of Hawai'i-Manoa
Educational Administration Dept.
1776 University Avenue
Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822

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Political And Cultural Determinants Of Educational Policymaking: The Case Of Native Hawaiians

This study posits a political-cultural model to explore the educational policy process and its impact on Native Hawaiians over a 140 year period. The theoretical model suggests that core political values are transmitted to educational policy and school-related activities, and thereby impact the social, economic, and academic status of Native Hawaiians. Similarity among three historical case studies was assessed, uncovering six emergent themes and advancing a grounded theory.

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICYMAKING: THE CASE OF NATIVE HAWAIIANS

"...the outcomes of public policy can be predicted to some extent by careful examination of the cultural system in which they are made."
(Garms et al., 1978, p. 12)

Renewed attention has been focused on educational policymaking and its impact on the socio-academic outcomes of a variety of ethnic groups. Unlike previous efforts which have sought to analyze linear causal relationships, this work approaches the study of educational policymaking from a political-cultural, qualitative perspective. Drawing on a framework proposed by Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt (1989), we propose a complex, mutually reinforcing model which describes the process of educational policy formulation and its effects specifically on Native Hawaiians. In addition, we seek to study this policy process model over time in order to assess regularities in Hawai'i's policymaking history, and thus, to understand the effect of wider political values on both the educational policy system, and the life opportunities afforded Native Hawaiian students. Through this work, we have come to realize that the study of political cultural values is crucial to the understanding of the dynamics of the educational policy process.

Attempts to understand the relationship between culture, politics, and the impacts of these on educational decisions made at the state level are a relatively new area of research with a small data base of empirical studies (Wirt, 1989). In fact, previous policy literature rarely explored the context of policymaking decisions, with most research articles dealing with traditional politics of education research (Sachen & Medina, 1990). Furthermore, the study of Native American education policy has been given little attention. Perhaps, not coincidentally, it has failed to receive attention because it has been somewhat lost in the history of the United States, which has focused on the politics of cultural domination through acculturation (Freire, 1985).

This lack of contextual (i.e., social, political, cultural) understanding of policymaking is further compounded by academic and social outcomes which have negatively impacted nations of Native American Indians, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders and jeopardized the future continuation and success of their native cultures. With this perspective, this study sets out to explore the context in which policy decisions are made, the actual content of a sample of policy decisions, and the outcome of the policy decisions over a period of time. Perhaps greater knowledge of

Native American educational policymaking processes may provide clearer direction to future empowerment of Native American groups, specifically Native Hawaiians.

The purpose of the article is to present a theoretical framework through which to determine how key educational values are translated from the macrocontext to microcontext through the policymaking process. In addition to the theoretical framework, this study presents methodological techniques to study the policy process. We illustrate this theoretical approach with data focusing on three periods of political turbulence in the educational history of Hawai'i. We do not, however, assess the impact of these value-laden policies on Native Hawaiians over time (for a thorough discussion see Benham, 1993).

FRAMEWORK

The empirical work of Marshall and her colleagues (1986, 1988) provides a theoretical lens as well as a methodological foundation through which the study of the influence of political and cultural values on the educational policymaker can be explored. Through this frame, the cultural context in which an education policy decision is made can be better understood. Further, the implications of the social, economic, and academic outcomes impacted by the education policy can be analyzed more closely.

In brief, the authors suggest an interconnectedness between the context in which policymakers exist and their policy choices. The policymaking context includes such variables as socialization, cultural values, and political culture. Therefore, as researchers (e.g., Marshall, 1985; Young, 1977) argue, "policymakers are socialized into a distinctive state policy culture that creates sets of expectation as to appropriate behaviors, rituals, and feasibility of differing policy options" (Sachen & Medina, 1990, p. 391). As Schattschneider (1960) argues, conflict is a central tenet of democracy, and politics is the system that mediates conflict. Thus, in this sometimes fiery arena of educational policymaking, key political values compete for attention. Marshall et al. (1989) identify four values which compete in this education debate. Three values, Quality, Equity, and Efficiency, were identified in an earlier work by Garms et al. (1978). The fourth, Choice, was suggested by Mitchell et al. (1986).

What evolved from the ideas advanced by Marshall et al. (1989), previous research, and continuous analysis of empirical data was a model (See Figure 1) which assisted in both the organization of historical information as well as the analysis and understanding of the data within a political-cultural context. This lens enables the

study of the process of educational policymaking at specified periods of time to determine possible patterns or policy regularities that emerge through the local political history of the State of Hawai'i.

Insert
Figure 1
Educational Policy Process Model

The model suggests that an analysis of education policy from an integrated perspective, political and cultural, could provide a valid means toward understanding the educational policy process. The three interrelated parts of the model are: (1) the Macrocontext, which describes the political culture and its preferred values; (2) the Microcontext, which examines the educational policymakers' sub-system culture, educational values embedded in actual laws, and their transference to actual school-related activity; and (3) Outcome, which analyzes the impact of these dominant values on the Native Hawaiians' social, economic, and academic status. The webbing that holds the model's components together are the educational values of equity, choice, quality, and efficiency (Marshall et al., 1989). Thus, the conceptual framework of the study suggests that education is a result of multiple and conflicting forces including special interest groups, professional elites, and social classes that seek to influence, and often control, the educational policymaking process (Kamens & Benarot, 1991).

METHOD

Understanding cultural and political processes requires the collection of data that provide thick description which explores human behavior and beliefs. Case study filled this need, as it provided an in-depth method which stimulated contextual description of emergent political themes linking political thought and educational policy decisions. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) define case study as "a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event" (p. 58). Appropriately, case histories provided a means of developing richly descriptive stories which detailed the process of politicization of education during moments of political turbulence. A useful methodological approach was pattern-matching (Yin, 1984) which matches empircal data against a theoretical explanation. The application of this approach across three cases required the use of the constant comparative method (Patton, 1990). Therefore,

the study required the construction of an interdisciplinary lens through which to view educational policy from multiple perspectives. Thus, the disciplines of political science, to study political organizations, and political-cultural anthropology, to view education historically, provided theoretical constructs that were appropriate to the study of this phenomena.

Education as a social function has mirrored political preferences regardless of the myths which tend to persuade otherwise. Therefore, the study of political organizations enlightens the research with regard to possible political stimuli which affect educational policy decisions. Further, study of the political systems reveals processes utilized to politicize education and their impact on school activities as well as the school's clientele. Therefore, in the following study, political theory provides a set of assumptions which assists in understanding the context of the political culture and the beliefs and values embedded in the political culture. An analysis of political dynamics builds a framework through which to assess political influence and power over the educational institution.

To study the macrocontext Marshall et al. (1989) suggest a theoretical approach which defines the political culture as either Traditionalistic (emphasizing elite control), Individualistic (emphasizing a marketplace perspective), or Moralistic (emphasizing good community). To define the political culture in this manner, the study must address three variables which include: (a) the perception of both the political leaders and the populace regarding what politics is and what it does; (b) a description of who becomes involved in decisionmaking; and (c) an explanation of how governance is practiced (Marshall et al., 1989). This process of determining how politics is perceived identifies unique values and beliefs held by political decisionmakers.

How these values are transmitted to the microcontext is the next concern. Again drawing from Marshall et al. (1989), this study operationalizes their Assumptive Worlds Domain theory which links the socialization of politics to actual policy decisionmaking. Here, the four domains of educational policy values may help describe what values and activities are believed by policymakers to be politically appropriate. Through a systematic analysis of actual school law, dominant values embedded in policy may be identified which may provide support for the thesis that these values are consistent between the macrocontext and the microcontext.

Observing Temporal Changes in Policy Development

Currently, very little is known about policy systems which suggest interaction between the components of a macro-political context, a micro-educational policy content, and their impact especially as it may describe an evolving local (e.g., Hawaiians) situation over time. Therefore, the theoretical study of a policy process model at different periods of time is needed. The dilemma then is: From what scientific perspective and through what theoretical lens can this temporal study of educational policy be addressed?

Strauss and Corbin (1990) define the purpose of theoretical sampling as a method "...to sample events, incidents, and so forth, that are indicative of categories, their properties, and dimensions, so that you can develop and conceptually relate them" (p. 177). Drawing on the dynamic political theory of E. E. Schattschneider addressing political conflict (1960) and the political evolution theory of anthropologist Robert Carneiro focusing on evolving societies (1970) the study focuses on the educational policy process over time. Through this political-anthropological lens, we may be able to define the political and cultural values of the formal and informal power structures of a society at a specific time and over several periods of time. Briefly, both complementary theories postulate that at moments of greatest conflict caused by a clash between two organizations for power over resources, turbulence is created and an imbalance in the socio-political macro-system produces an open window for change in governance. Because it is a dynamic entity, the system seeks equilibrium which again temporarily stabilizes the organization and creates quiescence. These periods of relative calm are the connective tissues that give this dynamic study fluidity, providing needed contextual understanding of how and why conflict occurs and how and why some reforms are merely incremental and others are revolutionary.

Each period selected describes growing social, political, and economic conflict followed by an abrupt and short period of turbulence, and a longer period of relative quiescence. Thus, three turbulent and quiescent cycles form the temporal study which attempts to identify regularities in the policy process. The three periods of time in Hawaiian history selected include the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1820. With them came the activity of formal schooling and the intent of "raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization..." (Kittelson, 1981). The second historical period focuses on the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 and the creation of the Department of Public Instruction. The final period, the 1950's through 1960's,

highlights Hawai'i's move towards statehood and the political power shift from Republican control to Democratic Party control of government.

Data Collection Procedures

A primary focus of this study was to examine the process of policy formulation within a specific sociopolitical context at several times in history and the impact of embedded values on the decision-making behavior of educational policymakers. Theory suggests that political values are translated from wider society through policymakers into institutional artifacts (i.e., in this case school policies). Therefore, a thick contextual description of this process was needed. This required the use of unique, perhaps creative, methods of collecting and analyzing historical data which provided both formal and informal information regarding this phenomenon.

Theoretical perspectives of anthropology helped to focus data collection toward understanding the political culture of the specific time periods as well as revealing general values embedded in the process of educational policymaking. Furthermore, the axioms of anthropological study suggest a phenomenological view of reality which was appropriate to the study of educational policy processes over time.

Since a primary purpose of the study was to explore the phenomenon of education policymaking and to identify plausible values which shaped the phenomenon, data sources used ranged from in-depth interviewing to document analysis. Raw data for each case included information from historical texts, photos, journals, diaries, newspapers, historical reports and articles in published and unpublished journals, lecture transcripts, letters, and interviews. To better understand the impact of political values on educational policy, actual policies, laws, and mandates were collected from official documents. These salient themes can be found implemented in actual academic and school-related activities by reviewing budgets, personnel assignments, test scores, and curriculum goals and materials. The data used to describe and analyze outcomes in the areas of Native Hawaiian economic stability, demographics, and academic standing consisted of both official and unofficial narrative accounts and statistical reports.

The preceding suggests that a voluminous and extensive study would be required in order to fulfill the axioms of qualitative research. And, indeed this was the case; however, to make the data more manageable and to complete the study within a reasonable time frame, a framework was established to access primary data first and secondary data only as a means of triangulation. Primary data sources were written

by historians, politicians, businessmen, and other figures present during the specific period of time studied. For example, American Missionary journals, personal journals and letters written by core political and educational leaders, newspapers, Department of Public Instruction publications, actual laws and policies, and historical accounts written by a person during the specific historic time were all primary sources. In addition, current historical texts and interviews were also used to establish an understanding of each of the historical periods.

Data Analysis

Through content analysis, a "process of identifying, coding, and categorizing" (Patton, 1990, p. 381) data, the researcher was able to more effectively manage the unwielding reams of data. Additionally, content analysis assisted in defining the political culture of each period, linking the political culture to policymakers, uncovering value themes embedded in educational policy, and assessing the impact of political values on Native Hawaiians.

To assess if dominant political values were actually translated into educational policy, school laws were selected from each period, specifically laws made during or as a result of the period's politically turbulent moments. The values embedded in the policy were uncovered through a process of analyzing the key political values suggested by Marshall et al. (1989). Those values were Efficiency, Quality, Equity and Choice.[1] For example, in the Laws of 1842, the following statute was determined to reflect the dominant value of efficiency with its primary objective being the governance of the school:

> 13. There shall also be annually appointed certain men of intelligence as general school agent, as follows, one for Hawai'i, one for Maui, one for Moloka'i, one for O'ahu, one for Kaua'i, and one superintendent of the whole. They shall be appointed by the legislature at their annual meeting. These persons shall be the school agents for the year.

Efficiency in the above law was determined to provide a means through which the government was able to control what values would be disseminated into school policies and school-related activities by legislating the appointment of key school decision makers. Marshall et al. (1989) suggest that policies which reflect efficiency must also provide for either economic control or a mechanism for accountability. The above school law, in fact, mandates an institutional device which determines the

authority system of the schools; holding the schools accountable to the state legislature.

Once these values were extrapolated from the policies they were reported in a statistical table which describes numerically how many times certain values appeared in the policies. It may be possible to then link the data back to the values disseminated by the political culture through the educational policymakers. The appearance of these values in the allocation of resources to schools, curriculum goals, and school-related activities is charted by identifying the laws' objectives. One can then assess the actual implementation of identified values in schools. Through this process, possible regularities in educational policy formulation may be recognized.

To ensure the credibility of the data and method of organizing and understanding their meanings, each constructed historical case study was reviewed by a Native Hawaiian historian and several knowledgable scholars. This method of collegial review, integral to case study (Ogawa & Malen, 1991), provided for a more credible and trustworthy representation of the educational policymaking process phenomenon at selected periods of time in Hawai'i's history and over time. Thus, through sampling multiple perspectives within a formally constructed database, categorizing and coding the data into emergent groupings which linked the report's assertions to raw data, and by creating an audit trail to further trustworthiness, an accurate description of the data analytic process evolved.

In order to identify possible regularities in educational policymaking over time and to begin to determine how societal values have defined the educational lives of Native Hawaiians, the constant comparative method was employed (Patton, 1990). Patton suggests the comparison of case studies is possible after each case history has presented a holistic portrayal of the phenomenon. This creative and flexible process addresses similarities, differences, and interrelationships between the policy values of each period. As related concepts appear, theory is strengthened because it is grounded in empirical data. What emerges then is a grounded theory (Conrad, 1975; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of regularities in educational policy formulation over time as it pertains to Native Hawaiians.

CASES

The Arrival and Impact of the American Missionaries: 1820-1839

It is important to understand that prior to the arrival of the American Missionary, Hawai'i had undergone rampant upheaval of its social-mythological, economic-agrarian, and political-kinship foundation which had existed prior to the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778. The years following the arrival of western influence, however, had left the Hawaiians culturally devastated due to the debilitating effects of labor exploitation and the introduction of disease and alcohol (Steuber, 1981-1982).

Within this period of political and social upheaval, entered the American Missionary who would, over a short time, institutionalize the ideals of colonialism. Allen (1982) writes that "the missionaries sailed into a religious vacuum in 1820. The old gods were officially gone..." (p. 25). Upon their arrival, the missionaries were aware of two things: one, that the Hawaiians were heathens and in need of saving; and two, that the Hawaiian rulers had strong ties to the American nemesis, Great Britain. The mission's goal then "was to supplement and implement the efforts of organized religious work to raise the Hawaiians from their alleged savagery and degradation and to help them pattern themselves as a people after their western teachers" (Steuber, 1982-1982, p. 16). Additionally, the American Missionary, shouldering the political baggage of anti-British sentiment, would champion the ideals of individual rights, a right to have a say in governance, a right to own land, a right to one's own body, and a right to one's own produce.

The suggestion that it was inevitable that the missionaries would impact the politics of Hawai'i is not so far-fetched. From the beginning, the missionaries were affiliated with the ali'i (nobility) as informal political advisors and teachers. Kuykendall (1938) writes, "...for the first few years, indeed, they [ali'i] practically monopolized the efforts of the new teachers [Missionary]..." (Vol. I, p. 104). The political influence of the American Missionary was formally confirmed with Rev. William Richards' appointment as an advisor to the king. Richards' commenced to instruct the ali'i in drafting the Declaration of Rights (June 7, 1839), the Edict of Toleration (June 1839), and Hawai'i's first written constitutional law the Constitution of 1840 (October 4, 1840) which established Hawai'i as a constitutional monarchy.[2]

Perhaps because Hawai'i was still bound to it's belief that religion, political power, and economics of the land were heavily intertwined, and because the majority of the maka'ainana (commoners) accepted, without question, the governing power of

their ali'i, Hawai'i's constitutional governance would also embrace elite control based on family and social ties. Consequently, Hawai'i's governing culture could be characterized as Traditionalistic, as an elite oligarchy composed of both the ali'i and the American Missionary determined what policies and programs would be initiated.

In education, Hawai'i has been recognized as a forerunner in the public school movement due to the influence of the American Missionary. Governmental support of public education was established in April of 1824 at a meeting of the high chiefs and Ka'ahumanu.[3] Chamberlain writes that at this meeting, the governing elite declared "...their determination to adhere to the instruction of the missionaries to attend learning, observe the Sabbath, worship god, and obey his law, and have all their people instructed" (April 13 & 26, 1824, p. 210 & 211).[4] The activity of schooling was so popular that as Wist (1940) suggests, it became a substitute "for lost indigenous social activities" (p. 26). In fact, within the first decade of the American Missionary presence in Hawai'i, approximately 85,000 Native Hawaiians had been instructed to read and write in the Hawaiian language (Everly, 1965, p. 45).

In time, the core values and beliefs of the tiny kingdom were fundamentally Christian. What became acceptable governing issues fell within the boundries of religious concern. What was deemed important for all became the communication of western beliefs through mandatory schooling first for adults and then for children. The Traditionalistic political culture of Hawai'i prefered social policy which valued a centralized governance of elite decisionmakers who could effectively and expediently allocate resources for the Christian betterment of the community. Indeed, an analysis of educational laws instituted in 1842 (see Table 1) illustrates the dominance of key political values of efficiency and quality.

In retrospect, the new schools provided Native Hawaiians with the tools to survive in a new world order. Nevertheless, both curricular content and pedagogy opposed core traditional Hawaiian values and ways of living, thereby devastating the lifeline of cultural esteem. Valuing efficient means of changing the heathen native spearheaded the creation of laws and policies which supported the process of colonizing the islands and led to a period of quiescence during which new values and new white-Anglo leaders governed.

Hawai'i, No Longer for the Native Hawaiian, 1887-1900

The role of economics in the political activity of the time, although an essential cornerstone for action by American businessmen, cannot be construed as the primary

reason for the demise of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the 1890's. Of importance is the ethnocentric, racist belief in Manifest Destiny embraced by many foreign, mostly American businessmen and professionals. The first formal use of Manifest Destiny ocurred in December of 1842 when President Tyler applied the ideology in pledging United States support to Hawai'i. The ideology of Manifest Destiny expediated a shift of power in the Hawaiian legislature from majority Native Hawaiian representation to increased American membership. The desire for Caucasian control encouraged the formation of the Committee of Thirteen in the latter part of 1853; their objective being annexation to the United States. Daws (1958) writes that "a good many Americans in the kingdom were Manifest Destiny men, rabid nationalists, their minds inflamed by the election to the American presidency of the expansionist Democrat Franklin Pierce, who took office in 1853" (p. 147).

Therefore, the transition of power from the native monarchy to white-Anglo American control was essentially a peaceful movement with the missionaries playing an integral role. The acceptance of new governing methods and beliefs was easily institutionalized as many of the American Missionaries, who had left the American Board of Foreign Missions due to the organizations lack of funding, held influential positions in Hawai'i's government. In addition, American capital, which had supported the fledgling kingdom's treasury, became a dominant political tool at the end of the Kamehameha Dynasty in 1872. As no heir to the throne was announced, a heated political debate between several members of the royal clan insued. In the end, Queen Emma's British influenced contingency lost to the American backed Prince William Lunalilo, the first elected sovereign. Two short years later Queen Emma again fought for power only to lose to Prince David Kalakaua, also endorsed by American capital.

Although at first appeasing the American business interest, Kalakaua would soon anger his American constituency by his mismanagement of the government and his imperialistic notions. Kalakaua's actitivies were reason enough to create conflict between the monarch and the now disenfranchised Americans, thus, supporting their belief that because Hawaiians were incompetent the American had every right to take control of the government. With economic control, a loud voice in the legislature, armed support, and American warship presence Hawai'i's American businessmen prepared for change. Finally, in 1887, Kalakaua's mishandling of a law which would have legalized the sale of Opium, forced an opportunity. A new constitution was written by a predominately white-Anglo American coalition ironically named the Hawaiian League. Coercing Kalakaua to sign the Constitution of 1887 at gun point, this document has become known as the Bayonet Constitution. The content of this

new law brings to fruition the American belief of Manifest Destiny in Hawai'i. The constitution placed stringent rules on who governed, limiting participation of Native Hawaiians, and defining the monarch's role as a mere figurehead. The fateful reign of Lili'uokalani, who followed her brother Kalakaua, was fraught with unfortunate political intrigue and turmoil. The formal end of the monarchy came with a United States Marines invasion on Tuesday, January 17, 1883.

Under the temporary governance of the Provisional Government (1883) followed by the Republic of Hawai'i (1894-1898), governance of Hawai'i blatantly reflected the values and beliefs of Teutonic superiority.[5] Control of who participated in governance insured that the principles advocated by the white-Anglo elite would be maintained. The Traditionalistic political culture, embraced by the new governing elite, valued centralized power and participation in governance by the appropriate elite.

Examining who governed the schools and their policy choices reflect this Traditionalistic political culture. In fact, every President of the Board of Education, his Inspector General of Schools, and the members of the board had been appointed by the elite anglo-American power circle, and all were either descendants of American Missionaries or affiliated with American businesses. In fact, Act 57, signed on June 7, 1896, was constructed on the myth that politics did not play a role in education and that schools could be run more effectively under the guidance of appropriately selected professionals. An examination of Act 57 (see Table 1) reflects a reliance on efficient means to realize centralized control and a curricular program which taught natives how to think and behave appropriately.

The process of socialization in the public and independent schools of Hawai'i coupled with the political turmoil of the latter 1800's created deep-seated resentment among the Native Hawaiian toward anything that was American. This psychological barrier resulted in a large representation of Native Hawaiians in non-professional occupations, with only a 4.7 percent representation in professional occupations (Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project, 1983, p. 30). In addition, school records reveal that Native Hawaiians represented 66.6 percent of offenders in reformatory schools (Biennial Report of 1897, p. 47). Dispossessed of their land, their monarch, and their traditions, Native Hawaiians had no voice.

Towards New Political Ideals in Post-War Hawai'i: 1940-1960

Political manipulation enhanced by economic power became the most effective means of assuring the stability of the white-Anglo American on Hawaiian land. Their

political endeavors valued privatization of conflict as a means of efficiently controlling all social institutions (e.g., schooling). This highly centralized governing structure was so entrenched that the ruling elite, who became known as the Republican Oligarchy, was able to maintain its hold over Hawai'i's governance from 1887 into the 1950's. Three pivotal events opened a window for change. They included on the national scene, a shift from Republican Party domination to Democratic Party control first in the United States Congress and then with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt; on the local level, upheaval and diversity in local business ownership and a growing ethnic population during World War II; and, also on the local level, a growing generation of well-educated but disenfranchised American born Japanese or Nisei (second generation).

Armed with the GI Bill, many Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) returned to Hawai'i after World War II well-educated, with a proven record of loyalty to the United States, and with the attitude that they should be able to enjoy the rights of American citizens of which they had been deprived prior to the war. This belief that they were not going to accept the status quo coupled with the 1946 mandate which enabled the Chinese and Filipino to seek citizenship and the 1952 mandate which opened the same door to the Japanese, Korean, and Samoan would change the face of politics in Hawai'i.

With the return of the Nisei came a rejuvenation of the little known Democratic Party in Hawai'i. Many of the AJA men rallied behind the popular young anglo-American Democrat John Burns. The Young Guard, as they were soon labeled, was primarily composed of Nisei who fought for equity in employment opportunity and a share of the wealth. Their ideals, more progressive than the Old Guard Democrats, voiced the needs of the oppressed and labored intensively under the banner of racial inclusion. The Young Democrats' popularity and success at the voting polls were supplemented by revolutionary economic changes in labor[6] and diversification of industry.[7] By 1954 the Young Democrats controlled, for the first time, the Territorial Legislature of Hawai'i, which they continue to dominate to the present day. Democratic Party domination was sealed in 1962 when John Burns was elected Governor of Hawai'i, Daniel Inouye was elected to Hawai'i's second seat in the United States Senate, and Spark M. Matsunaga and Patsy Takemoto Mink were sent to the United States House of Representatives. The lone Republican stand-out was Hiram Fong, United States Senator from Hawai'i. With statehood in 1959, and the establishment of Democratic Party control by 1962, the once disenfranchised Nisei now controlled Hawai'i.

The Nisei, however, did nothing to change the sociopolitical hierarchy which they had so recently despised. Adopting the centralized governing structure of the past, the newly elected leaders quickly privatized conflict, limiting participation to key players of the Burns' machine and aspiring AJA's who fit the "Boys Club" image. In fact, Tom Gill, a member of the Young Democrat ranks, became unpopular among his peers as he fought to return the party to its all inclusive party line (Coffman, 1973). An example of elite rule is evident in the 1967 Land Reform Act. Essentially, the Nisei dominated ruling elite, aspiring for the American dream of private landownership, found there was no land to be had as the major tracks of surface land were controlled by the Federal and State government and were virtually impossible to touch. The land reform act, however, provided a legal means of forcing private land owners, mostly Native Hawaiians or Native Hawaiian Trusts, into the sale of their land. The institutionalized governing system of the past remained; only the players had changed.

School laws reflected the Traditionalistic values of both the Republican and later Democratic Party dominated political culture. Laws established during the years 1905 and 1924 (see Table 1) reflect the values of an elite industrial oligarchy which sought to train a docile labor force. By 1930, tracking by language ability was institutionalized through the English Standard School System. This legally mandated policy of separatism provided the means to send lower class ethnic groups (e.g., Native Hawaiians, Filipino's, Koreans, Portuguese) to underfunded common public schools while the middle class Caucasian attended the upper-class public English Standard School. Vocational and industrial education programs proliferated in the common schools, providing a means to further track ethnic students into occupations which fit the need of Hawai'i's industry.

The 1940's - 1950's saw the Young Democrats' political protest against inequality result in the end of this dual-school system and initiated statewide election of the State School Board (Hawai'i, to this date, has a single School Board and is financed by the State Legislature's general fund). Although the intention of an elected School Board was to give voice to all of Hawai'i's disenfranchised minorities, in reality, the board became a stepping stone and political agent of the now dominant Democratic Party. The values of parity and choice in school laws between 1947 and 1969 (see Table 1) had become victims of the party line. Schools were managed by a professional bureacracy through its centralized, single statewide school district and gubernatorial appointed superintendent. Reform meant institutionalizing the activity of tracking, mandating curricular and pedagogical control, and financial manipulation through legislative fiat.

The overall objective of education during this period was to Americanize the Native Hawaiian and other ethnic groups in preparation for Hawai'i's probably statehood. This translated into public and independent school policy which mandated that everyone be taught to speak Standard English and to work industriously in their assigned career track. Additionally, school norms emphasized learning one's social rank, avoidance of confrontation and competition with the elite, and obligatory acceptance of the Territory's laws. These activites were successful as Native Hawaiians composed the lower to lower-middle class. In 1949, 93.8 percent of male Native Hawaiians had an income of less than $4999 a year, with a median income of $2368 (Lind, 1980). This was less than any other ethnic group with only the Filipino male income being lower. In addition, by 1950, 54.6 percent of Native Hawaiian men were gainfully employed laborers and only 9.9 percent were represented in professional occupations (Lind, 1980). This notion of Americanization of Hawai'i's population translated to actual classroom activity which continued to commit Native Hawaiian children to subordinate roles.

FINDINGS

The empirical data woven into three case histories provide significant description which illuminates the process of educational policymaking during each politically turbulent period (for a thorough discussion of these cases, see Benham, 1993). Focusing on the regularities in the temporal analysis of the data presented in the three historical case studies, an analysis revealed a grounded theory consisting of six emergent themes which describe the use of political power to both socialize as well as privatize conflict over what values and resultant policies should be pursued. In the following discussion, the themes are identified and briefly described and a matrix, included at the end of this section, helps one trace the emergence of the six themes over time.

Emergent Themes

Politicization and quiescence as a political process. In each of the three historical periods, turbulence was created by conflict produced by two competing cultures who desired the power to determine the direction of the society. Whether conflict was between a Hawaiian Monarch salvaging bits and pieces of a dismantled kapu system and the American Missionaries with their pious ideals of Christianity and

faith in the American model of governance, or whether it was between a disenfranchised Hawaiian Monarch and the American business elite, or the Republican Oligarchy and the Nisei-dominated Democratic Party, there would always only be one group whose social values would dominate. The dominant group would determine appropriate political behavior and values and ultimately sieze control of educational policy formulation. This process was fundamentally consistent over all three historical periods.

Iannaccone (1977) suggests that people's perceptions of what "is" versus what "ought" to be often lead toward new or renewed movements for social change. The data in each case revealed that turbulence was created by one disenfranchised group of people, dissatisfied with the beliefs and activities of those in power, who pressured for change. The dissatisfaction, voiced through a variety of channels, caused an inordinate amount of opposing input placed on the political system. This polarized the political system, thereby socializing the conflict into a broader realm of public attention and participation in governing activities. In each of the periods studied, this dynamic political process of how turbulence and quiescence were engineered was theoretically identical.

In all three cases, the period of quiescence found the governing men relatively unchallenged, capable of successfully privatizing conflict, and able to maintain relative equifinality.[8] Gradually, however, one dissatisfied group, supported by an essential financial commodity, would inevitably push against the existing governing power, causing turbulence. An example of this dynamic process occurred when the American Missionary, displeased with the heathenous activity of the Native Hawaiian, used the power of knowledge to impose their ideals, both Christian and political, on the Native Hawaiian Monarchs. In the second historic period, the American business elite became displeased with the outlandish governing style and economic pandering of Hawai'i's monarch and so, utlizing their economic power, they engineered a United States take over of the government. The final case history found the emerging Democratic Party, reenergized by a growing educated Nisei class and diverse economic concerns, challenging the power of the older Republican Oligarchy.

Status of the power players. Not only was the manner in which conflict was engineered similar among all three periods, but the characteristics which defined who governed, what values were deemed politically appropriate, and the political mechanisms used to govern were also identical. In each of the case studies, the rulers were those who economically, socially, and politically were in the upper class. This is obviously the case in the first historical period, which suggests that the Hawaiian ali'i,

the men and women to whom the land and its resources belonged, had absolute power. The American Missionaries were not wealthy in terms of land or financing, not as well off as their upper class American counterparts who controlled Hawai'i's businesses; however, because they possessed the power of reading and writing, their attachment to the ali'i brought them upper class status.

During the period of quiescence between the 1840's and the 1880's, the financial power of the American businessmen and the political influence of the American Missionary descendents established a new upper class. The sugar oligarchy, later to be called the Republican Oligarchy, owned large tracks of land and prospered tremendously in agriculture, banking, and the commercial business which supported the agricultural economy. It was this new and economically powerful elite which defeated the faltering and economically strapped governance of Kalakaua.

Finally, the third period of turbulence catapulted a new social elite into power. Although at first examination, it might seem that the third politically turbulent period was dominated by the lower and middle class Asian, closer inspection finds that the new leaders had already worked their way into the upper classes in business, in education, and even in land ownership.[9]

Limited participation in politics and policymaking. It was essential in each of the cases that only the appropriate elite, whether by kinship, religious belief, business acumen, racial origin, or party affiliation, be allowed to participate in governance, thereby maintaining a consistent stratified social system. In order to reestablish political equilibrium, the dominant group looked to the comforts of centralizing power. It was determined in all three cases that an elite controlled Hawai'i's resources and financial ledgers, and therefore, was able to define the governing structure as well as appropriate values.

Centralization has been historically entrenched in Hawai'i because of the reluctance of any dominant group to "share" power. The simple fear of losing the power to determine what society should be, coupled with the racist belief that white Anglo-Saxon values should dominate (e.g., Tyack, 1974), prevented any substantial movement to decentralize power (see Iannaccone, 1977). In fact, although running on an all-inclusive platform, in actuality, the Democrats excluded the participation of non-AJA's and non-Burns people.[10] An analysis of each case history's political macrocontext suggested that Hawai'i's political culture could be strongly identified as Traditionalistic because it limited participation to an elite group of policy developers who embraced a highly centralized form of governance. In addition, a recent study by the Institute for Southern Studies (Sunday Advertiser, January 24, 1993) ranked

Hawai'i as one of the least democratic states in the United States (only Georgia and South Carolina ranked lower).

Dominating values of efficiency and quality. Centralization embraces the values of efficiency in economics and a governing bureacracy and the value of quality in the manner of one's lifestyle and in social programs. In all three periods, content analysis revealed that these two values defined the beliefs and activities of the political elite (See Table 1).

Insert
Table 1
Distribution of School Laws and Policies
1842 through 1969

Efficiency has been seen by each political culture as a means of maintaining a predictable and controlled social order in which social unrest is restrained (Marshall et al., 1989). Sustaining social order aside, efficiency also supported Hawai'i's growing economic concerns and institutionalized a clearly defined social hierachy.

Each governing power found that efficient governmental practices enabled its idea of what should be to become reality. For example, in the first period what existed was a Hawaiian chiefdom steeped in tradition, or as the American Missionary saw it, a heathen exsistence. Employing efficient means of educating the native while devaluing native culture, the Missionaries sought to create their heaven on earth. The paradise sought by the American business elite was one in which their economic desires were met, thus, affording them the greatest potential for profit. Included in this view was a governing structure which supplied the Caucasian privileges over the Hawaiian and Asian. Finally, the Democratic Nisei clearly sought a society in which their ethnic group would be able to attain the benefits of such American ideals as private land ownership and economic prosperity.

Efficiency visibly had an economic side which played a significant role in forcing conflict as well as encouraging equilibrium during all three historical periods. The economic evolution in Hawai'i at the turn of the 19th Century saw a consumptive society replaced by the competitive economics of whaling services and sandalwool trade. This growing westernization of Hawai'i's economics brought an influx of new perspectives of the world. The new clashed with the old, sending Hawai'i into a social

tailspin. The promise that the American Missionary brought was the establishment of order, formal education, and economic stability.

Kalakaua's (i.e., the ruler from 1874-1891) extravagant expenditures, which threatened the profits of the American businessmen and agriculturalists, encouraged the next politically turbulent period. While the native monarchy battled for sovereign rights, the American businessmen, backed by economic power, fought for the establishment of economic order and social governance by an elite race. Finally, the economic equity sought by the Nisei grounded the fight for power from the 1940's through 1960's.

Quality suggests that a person receive the best in order to enhance his or her life (Marshall et al., 1989). In each of the three historical periods, quality worked with efficiency to provide the best programs and the best opportunities according to the dominant party's beliefs, and usually for the benefit of only the select few. For example, in each of the three periods, the schools for the commoners were often severely in need of resources and good teachers, while the select or private schools retained the students and offered them better curricular materials and highly skilled teachers. Additionally, the schools taught only foreign ideals concerning Christianity, English language, and American beliefs. At no time, was cultural plurality significantly addressed in school policy or school activity. In every case, the best was reserved for the elite and what was believed to be the best for everyone else (e.g., labor jobs and service employment) was socialized through the schools.

The case histories illustrate an important concept; that is, "how" the key political values of efficiency and quality were defined by the larger macro-political culture determined educational policy. Efficiency and quality, then, could be said to have become the tools to initiate and maintain elite governance of Hawai'i's schools. Thus, the data suggest that, despite recurring turbulance, these two value positions can be identified as regularities of the educational policy process in Hawai'i.

Neglected values of equity and choice. Simply, centralization negated equity and choice (Refer to Table 1) as we might liberally define them today. At no time in Hawai'i's history between 1820 through 1960 did the values of equity and choice dominate. The efficient social institutions of each governing body successfully retained a hierarchial pecking order based on kinship or economic interest or racial lines. Prior to the 1830's, Hawai'i had an already entrenched class structure which placed the gods first followed by the ali'i (nobility), the kahuna (professional), then the maka'ainana (commoner).

The American Missionary found this order favorable to their priesthood and by ingratiating themselves with the ali'i soon replaced the kahuna in the upper ranks. During the quiescent period between 1840 and the late 1880's, the American businessman worked his way up the social ladder with his economic prowess and global knowledge. The turbulence of the late 1880's into the year 1893 saw the institutionalization of a social hierarchy with the Caucasian professional at the top and the Native Hawaiian on the bottom. There would be no equity among the races. During the Democratic turbulence in the 1950's, equity was afforded to the AJA's and Caucasians, not to the Native Hawaiian. Even choice would be limited to those who could pay for it (i.e., private, elite education).

Who benefits and who loses. Easton's (1965) basic political question asks "who gets what from the system?" Knowing who benefits from receiving the most resources reveals who governs and what values are being transmitted into policy and actual activity. In all three case histories, economic stability and governing policy benefited the Caucasian elite, not the Native Hawaiian. Through sheer economic dominance and better familiarity with the mechanics of politics, the Caucasian and later the American born Japanese were able to efficiently privatize conflict and arrest any opposition. This was consistent with the state's political culture, which might be labeled Traditionalistic.

The first two case histories (The Arrival of the MIssionaries and The Take Over of the Monarcy by the United States) illustrate that those who benefited were either from the ali'i class or were Caucasian businessmen. They were, of course, in the elite, and they established policy, so naturally they would receive more resources than the commoners or Native Hawaiians. The third period was fundamentally no different. Granted, the Democratic Party had gained power on the pretense of equity in economic opportunity and decentralization, and was supported by a diverse economic system, labor movements, a populace consisting of a majority of ethnic races, and the heroics of the WWII Nisei soldier. Indeed, the intentions of the Democratic Party to provide equity moved the populace toward political activisim and successfully created political reform. Similar to the reform periods which preceded, this political change brought into power a different elite (e.g., the American Missionary, the American Businessmen, the Democratic Nisei). Again, the populace entrusted governing power to the new elite who immediately sought efficient means of controlling Hawai'i's resources through centralization. As in all previous cases, the populace bought into the promises of the dominant group who successfully privatized participation in governance in order to retain the resources and the power.

Insert
Table 2
Matrix of Emergent Themes

DISCUSSION

Essentially, fundamental change has been near impossible because traditional rituals and symbols, i.e., how things are done and how those in power are perceived, define the social structure. Figure 2, Tracking Hawai'i's Political Institution, employs a traditional Native Hawaiian petroglyph that visually demonstrates the lack of any systemic change in Hawai'i's political structure over time. The first figure represents the caste-like hierarchy of Hawai'i's feudal system prior to the arrival of the American Missionary. The structure of the initial petroglyph does not change over the periods of time studied; however, the evolution of who controls portrayed in these series of figures, finds the Native Hawaiian populace at the feet or the farthest distance from the central power. We can conclude, therefore, that this institutionalized social system tends to diffuse political turbulence as the study of Hawai'i's educational policy process over a 140-year period confirms this point.

Insert
Figure 2
Tracking Hawai'i's Political Institution

Although each politically turbulent period revealed a disenfranchised group with revolutionary ideas challenging traditional norms, structural changes were always kept to a minimum no matter who controlled. In all three cases once the so-called revolutionaries had seized power, they sought the comfort and predictability of traditional rituals established by the existing system. Thus, change was never quite revolutionary, but instead incremental (Iannaccone & Lutz, 1977). This lack of social structural change was also evident in that the dominant core political cultural values changed very little over time. This translated to over a hundred years of school policy and school-related activities which systematically regulated the destruction of cultural plurality, choice, and equity in Hawai'i's schools.

Implications for Theory and Research

The study of policymaking in Hawai'i has implications beyond the illumination of the systematic denegration of the native culture. However, given the limitations of this study, it seems somewhat premature to suggest at much length theoretical implications. As the body of inquiry regarding educational policy and Native American Indian and Hawaiian populations accumulates, a more potent basis for claims can then be made with greater confidence. Grounded in the data presented by this study, however, implications for the development of theory for policy analysis focused on Native populations can be proposed.

Implications for Methodology. The theoretical model employed by this study is useful in that it provides a means of viewing the process of educational policymaking over time. However, due to the magnitude of this study which spanned well over a hundred years, it was not possible to study all the emerging themes in a timely manner. This necessitated limiting the identification and evaluation of value themes. Although this process was necessary to make the study more manageable, the selection and definition of key political values raised some methodological concerns.

The four core political values, Efficiency, Quality, Equity, and Choice, were introduced by a recent study conducted by Marshall et al. (1989). Although the definition of each of these values had been grounded in theory and previous research, a temporal analysis of the impact of political values on educational policy in Hawai'i illustrated that value definitions reflect the beliefs of a specific time period. The definitions, therefore, may not be the same as current beliefs. For example, the value of Choice defined by current beliefs requires educational policy to provide families the unlimited freedom to choose among educational opportunities for their children (Marshall, et al., 1989). However, this study reveals that Choice had been defined by the Republican Oligarchy in the latter 1800's as preserving this freedom for Caucasians, while providing only limited choices in educational opportunity for the Native Hawaiian. Additionally, the value of Equity was defined differently in the 1800's than the 1980-1990 definition this study employed. Equity in current policy language is a matter of redressing past social and educational inequity (Marshall, et al., 1989). On the other hand, Equity was believed by the 19th Century educational policymaker to mean provisions for students to aspire within the restrictions of the social hierarchy.

In sum, although the values provided by Marshall et al. (1989) were invaluable to the manageability of this study, they also proved limiting in their inability to define

changing political values over time. One possible theoretical implication raises the question "How would we redefine the instruments, values, employed by this study?" Perhaps more precise indicators which reflect the beliefs of political leaders and educational policymakers at different periods of time could introduce other core values that were not discussed in this study. This leads to a second question which asks "How would we test for other political values?"

Implications for Educational Policy study. The temporal analysis of this study's model suggests a mutually reinforcing system. This phenomenon illustrates how the political macrocontext defines social structures from a top-down framework while at the same time the microcontext defines the social edifice, suggesting a bottom-up system. This interconnectedness among the sub-systems has implications for the nature of conflict in the construction of social policy and its impact on change. The implication for the educational policy researcher is to determine how the model's sub-systems communicate. At what times does this communication process create conflict? How are the sub-systems affected by conflict? And, how this dynamic interaction creates change.

Another query addresses the need to study specific educational policy from a political-cultural perspective. Future study, for example, could focus on language policy, curriculum decisions, and financing directives. These studies would be framed within its historical context and viewed from a political-cultural perspective, thereby building on present theory.

Implications for Native Hawaiian study. The data collected in this study revealed a serious lack of empirical work focused on Native Hawaiian educational issues. The lack of a body of literature from which to draw became a limitation. For example, in order to better understand the nature of conflict between the values embedded in Caucasian-centered educational policy and Native Hawaiian tradition, clearer definition of Hawaiian values was needed. With the exception of the work by Pukui et al. (1977) and several conference papers, very little has been written to date which defines Native Hawaiian values. One area needing more attention is the need for Native Hawaiian values clarification. Such work would not only have benefited the purpose of this study, but is also essential to the future of Native Hawaiian cultural programs.

In sum, this study attempted to limit its view of educational policy from a sociopolitical perspective, employing core educational values as key indicators of the impact of educational policy on Native Hawaiians. It sought to generate a grounded theory regarding educational policymaking in Hawai'i over time, not from one

perspective but from broad, multiple perspectives. Caution should be practiced in generalizing the results of this study to other similar cultural groups. It is hoped, however, that this study is useful as a tool to further study educational policy and its impact on native peoples from a political-cultural perspective. Application across other situations in an effort to both add to present knowledge and develop a cultural perspective in educational policy analysis is encouraged.

Due to the absence of answers to theoretical questions, we can only confirm what the data presently suggest. What has been learned is that as Hawai'i moves closer toward another political revolution in educational governance, fundamental values of the political culture must begin to appreciate cultural diversity, thereby valuing equity and choice. This idea goes against established policy regularities -- despite considerable political turbulance -- emphasizing efficiency and bureaucratic comfort. The model developed provides a view of why current educational reform which focuses on increased local parent, teacher, and administrative input through site-based management has been difficult to achieve. There are few political mechanisms in place that encourage citizen participation in politics and policymaking at the local level across a variety of institutions in the State. How to modify this entrenched political culture becomes a major concern.

Such change requires the educational policymaker to validate cultural plurality. Educational reform, or revolution, challenges the teacher to depart from long-held western modes of pedagogy and to apply new combinations of ideas and practices which are effective with their unique group of students. More importantly, it obligates Native Hawaiians to take responsibility to disspell the myths, to identify themselves as leaders and not children of Hawai'i, and to move actively towards the improvement of their own social status. Simply, this historical study has revealed the devastating silence of the Native Hawaiian. As the many groups before have sought and gained control of Hawai'i, it is time that the Native Hawaiian ground their values in Hawaiian tradition and act with the skill and knowledge afforded in today's modern society.

Notes

[1]It should be noted that the usefulness of this value framework within the context of Hawai'i can be assessed by the extent to which the specific values can be identified within and across the time periods. Additionally, the identification of the named four values does not preclude the opportunity for examininations and assessment of other values not at this time discovered or considered.

[2]The 1840 Constitutional Law was invaluable to this study as it is the first written law documenting formal schooling. The laws in this document provide concrete data supporting the assumption that political values had been translated into educational policy.

[3]Ka'ahumanu was the favorite wife of Kamehameha I, and was appointed first regent of Hawai'i (Kuhina-nui) as Kamehameha II was at the time of his ascendency to the throne only a child. Ka'ahumanu's influence on the monarch and on public policy governed Hawai'i. A strong supporter of the American Missionary, Ka'ahumanu was instrumental in instituting many of their Calvinistic doctrines in governing policy.

[4]A transcript of Levi Chamberlain's journals is located at the Hawaiian Missions Children's Society Library in Honolulu.

[5]Alfred L. Castle, "Advice for Hawai'i: The Dole-Burgess Letters," The Hawaiian Journal of History 15 (1981) 24-33. This article describes political values held by the governing elite, specifically the President of the Republic Sanford B. Dole.

[6]The Hawai'i Employment Relations Act was passed in 1945 and stimulated the growth of unionization in Hawai'i.

[7]The growth of the unions in Hawai'i severed the industrial monopoly which, in turn, opened the doors to economic diversity, growing tourism, and new business opportunities.

[8]Iannaccone and Lutz, 1969, define equifinality as a period of time in which the pressures (input) in a political system is in relative equilibrium to the manner in which the administration is able to control society (output).

[9]See George Cooper and Gavan Daws, Land and Power in Hawai'i (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1985).

[10]AJA's are American of Japanese Ancestry and non-Burns people refers to those who did not support John Burns.

Table 1
Distribution of School Laws and Policies
1842 through 1969

Year	Quality	Efficiency	Equity	Choice	Total
1842	4	14	0	0	18
1896	6	36	0	1	43
1905	13	32	1	1	47
1924	4	40	1	2	47
1947	3	3	0	0	6
1960-1961	1	2	0	2	5
1966	3	24	0	1	28
1969	0	5	0	0	5
Total	34	154	2	7	199

Table 2
Matrix of Emergent Themes and Case Histories

Emergent Theme	Case History 1820-1839	Case History 1887-1900	Case History 1940-1960
Politicization and Quiescence	American Missionary affiliated with the Hawaiian Monarchy, thereby institutionalizing the ideals of colonialism. Maintaining a Traditionalistic political culture.	The disenfranchised American business interests, dissatisfied with Kalakaua's activity force the signing of a new Constitution and eventual overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy. Maintaining Traditionalistic political culture.	With the return of the disenfranchised Nisei from WWII, a new educated force rejuvenated the Democratic Party which soon dominated the Territorial legislature, executive offices, and judiciary. Maintaining Traditionalistic political culture.
Status of the power players	Those who ruled were an elite group composed of the ali'i (nobility) and the American Missionary.	Maintaining the political hierarchy, the new ruling elite was composed of American businessmen and descendents of the American Missionaries.	The sceptre of elite rule was now held by the Democratic Party composed primarily of the Nisei and white-Anglo Americans.
Limited participation in politics and policymaking	Participation in the governance of the Kingdom and the schools was limited to the ali'i and the American Missionary.	Participation was limited to those citizens who earned a certain level of income or owned a certain amount of land. In addition, only citizens who swore allegiance to the Republic of Hawai'i could participate in governing activities. Few Native Hawaiians qualified.	As an American Territory the Native Hawaiian benefited by the one-man one-vote law. However, as a group, the Native Hawaiian was fragmented with little economic power to make a difference politically.

Emergent Theme	Case History 1820-1839	Case History 1887-1900	Case History 1940-1960
Dominating values of efficiency and quality	Content analysis of school laws in 1842 found 4 laws reflecting Quality and 14 laws reflecting Efficiency.	Content analysis of school laws in 1896 reflect 6 laws focused on Quality and 36 laws focused on Efficiency.	Content analysis of school laws between 1905-1969 show 34 laws representative of Quality and 106 laws representative of Efficiency.
Neglected values of equity and choice	Content analysis of school laws in 1842 found no laws reflecting either equity or choice.	Content analysis of school laws in 1896 reflect 1 law offering choice and no law offering equity.	Content analysis of school laws between 1905-1969 reveal 2 laws suggesting equity and 6 laws offering choice.
Who benefits and who loses	Land and business profited the ali'i and foreign merchant. Rudimentary skills of reading, writing, and counting were taught to the maka'ainana (commoner); however, the commoner did not own land or benefited from industrial profit.	Relatively few Native Hawaiians became scholars, politicians, or professionals. Fewer still owned businesses. Hawaiian cultural traditions became fragmented as fewer and fewer natives learned their native tongue. The Republican Oligarcy, comprised of Industrialists were able to capture the lion's share of land and economic power.	The Americanized curriculum further disenfranchised the native child from their ancestral traditions and language. Natives were overrepresented in labor and service occupations and underrepresented in professional careers. The Nisei and white-Anglo Americans were able to fulfill dreams of land ownership and profit from the diverse economy.

Figure 1
Educational Policy Process Model

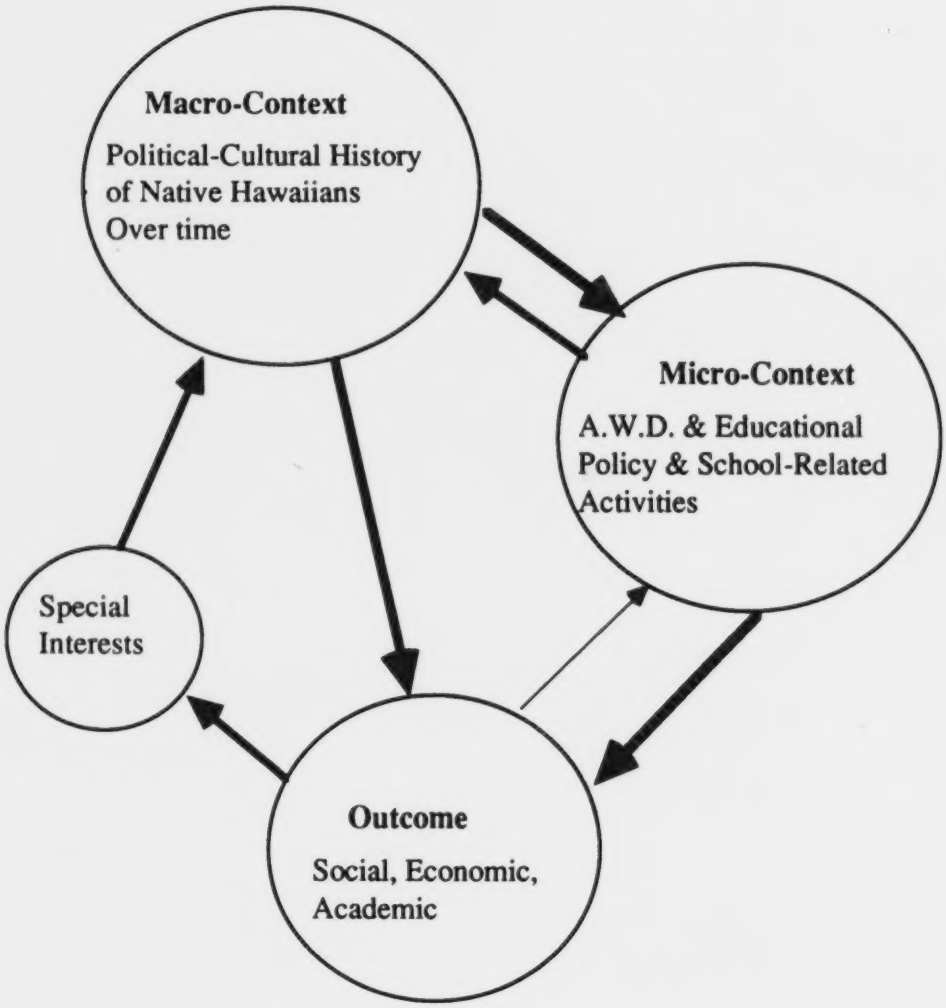
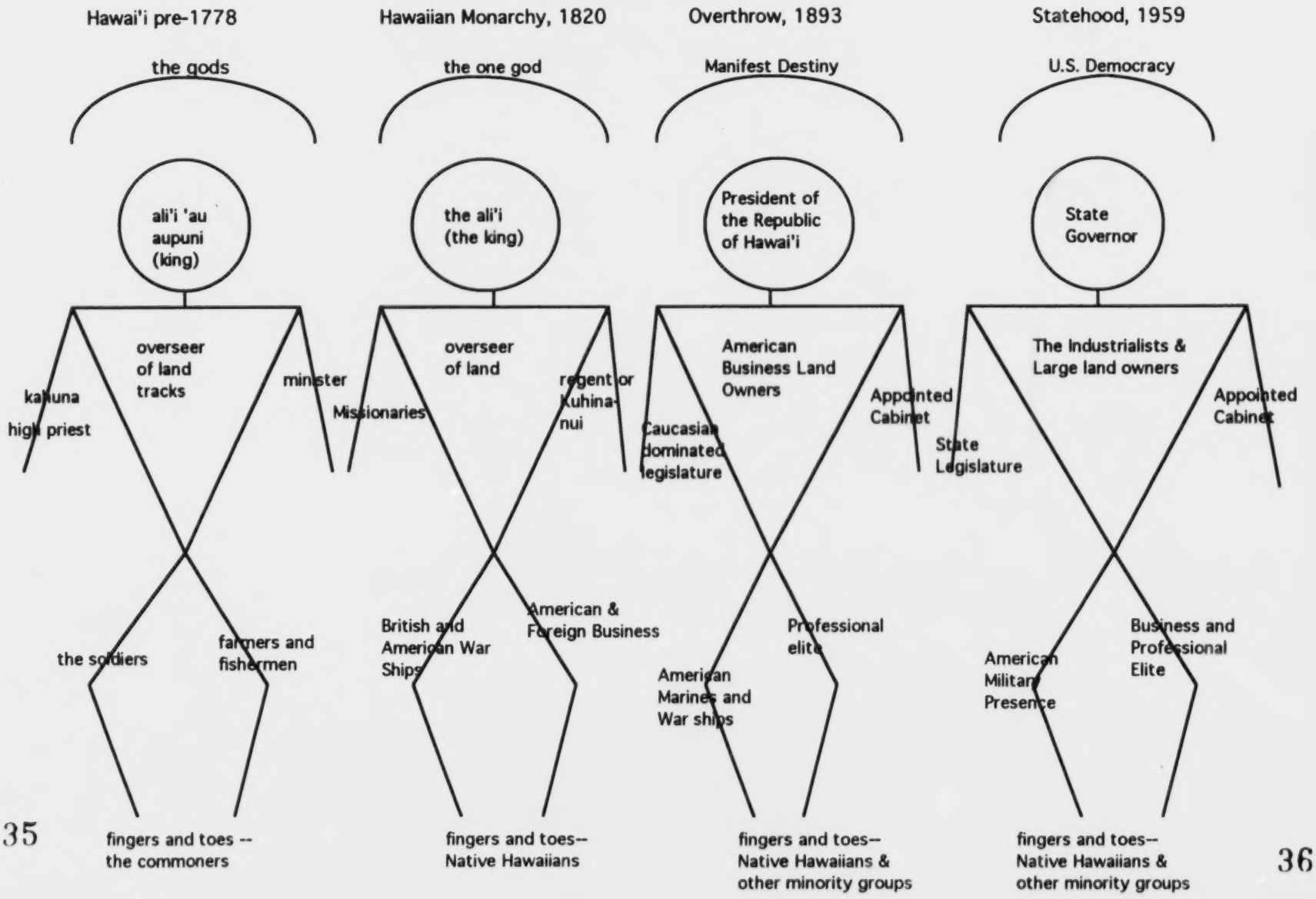


Figure 2
Tracking Hawai'i's Political Institution



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